

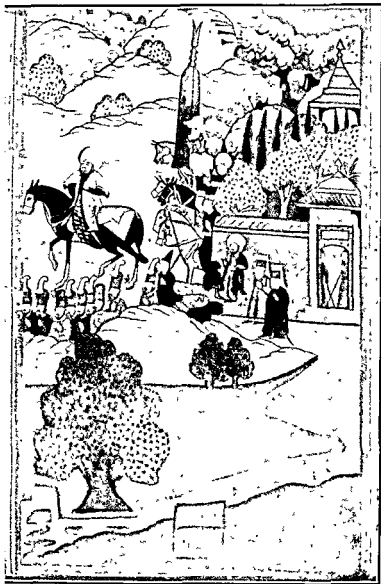
THE
KHILAFAT AND ENGLAND

BY
SYED MAHMUD, Ph. D (Münster),
Barrister-at-Law,
PATNA

PUBLISHED BY
MOHEMED IMTYAZ,
SIDAQAT ASHRAM,
PATNA.

"The most astonishing characteristic of the rule of the
Turks has been its vitality. Again and again its doom
has been pronounced by wise prophets and still it
survives."





Description of the Photo.

“ وصول علم رسالت پر اسکدار و استقبال خداوند کار کا مبارک ”

The Abbaside Khalif bestowing the Khilafat
and its relics upon the Turkish Sultan.

[From the manuscript No 424, Khuda
Bux Library, Bankipore. The
book was completed in the reign
of Mohamed III]

DEDICATION.

To the Turkish Nationalists.

"My friends and myself are going
to stand up for the cause of old
Islam to the last drop of blood."

THE
NATIONAL DECLARATIONS AND THE PLEDGES
OF
ENGLAND THAT ARE BROKEN.

1. "The Mussalmans of India should rest assured that nothing will be done by us or our Allies in this war which is likely to injure their religious feelings and sentiments. The holy places of Islam shall remain immune from molestation and every care will be taken to respect them. No operations will be conducted against the sacred seat of the Muslim Khilafat. We are only fighting the Turkish Ministers who are acting under the influence of Germany and not the Khalifa of Islam. The British Government not only on their behalf but also on behalf of their Allies take the responsibility of all these Pledges." (*This is the substance of the official declaration published by the Government of India in November 1914 with the declaration of war and was officially circulated in every town and village in India.*)

2. Lord Harding in the Imperial Legislative Council, 12th January 1915. "The Allies have made a declaration of the immunity of the holy places of Arabia and Mesopotamia from attack, while the British Government have even declared that they are prepared, if any need should arise, to defend them against all foreign invaders and to maintain

them inviolate...but however the tide of events may shape its course, there can be no doubt that holy places will remain inviolate, and that Islam will still become of the great world forces."

3. *Lord Cromer, in the House of Lords on April 20th, 1915.* "I need hardly say how entirely I agree with the noble Marquis (Marquis of Crewe) that the Muslim should decide this question (Khilafat) for themselves; but I think we might go so far as to give them some sort of assurance that we recognize that the Caliph should be not only a Muslim, but a Muslim of such position as to be independent of any European pressure of any kind or sort."

4. *Mr. Lloyd George, 5th January 1918.* "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race."

PREFACE.

IN April 1915 we wrote an article in the "East and West" on the historical aspect of the Khilafat. The world has greatly changed since then. The Khilafat Question has assumed such a vast magnitude that it is causing anxiety in the Chancellories of Europe. It is the burning topic of the day. In the present book we have approached the subject by a path which might, we suppose, be called academic. We have tried to deal with it impartially and accurately.

It now remains for us to thank our friend Mr. K. P. Jayswal, B. A. (Oxon), who so kindly read the proof and made certain corrections. Our thanks is also due to our dear friend Mr. A. M. Khwaja for certain valuable suggestions.

Patna.

AUTHOR.

FOREWARD

BY

MR. MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

In introducing this valuable little work of Dr. Syed Mahmud to the public, I would particularly commend it to the notice of the English in India; because I am convinced that when the English here in India know the truth about the Turkish Question, they will share the Indian feeling—in regard to it, and when they share the Indian feeling upon that point they will quickly come to share it upon others also. It is, indeed, the most important point of all in my opinion, typifying the whole present antagonism between East and West, which is due almost entirely to Western arrogance, and the refusal to regard the Eastern point of view as worth considering.

Islam is not a mere eclectic cult such as Christianity has now become among the "civilized" peoples of the west, a cult reserved for one day in the week, if that, and having little or no influence upon the conduct of men's daily life. It is a complete rule of life conducing to a complete system of civilization, which has never yet attained its full developement, although in Al-Medinah, Baghdad and Cordova it did of old surpass all other civilizations which the world had known, not in wealth and luxury, or even learning, but in that most "modern" of all desiderata, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." The divine laws governig mankind collectively, the laws which must be obeyed if there is ever to be any

moral progress of humanity as a whole are no where codified and clearly stated except in Al-Coran-esh Sharif ; therefore Islam has a definite and most important contribution to make to the world. But that contribution cannot be made without the means to emphasise it by example, and Muslims cannot give an example of Islamic progress except in independence. The Islamic Civilisation is a theocracy, and the Khlifat is its earthly head, whether he be an Arab or a Non-Arab, whether his seat of power is at Medinah, Baghdad or Constantinople, and the centre of Islamic culture and Islamic hope of human progress has always shifted with the seat of the Khilafat. All European students will admit that Medinah and Baghdad, when the seat of the Khilafat, were a light to the world, but many will deny that Stamboul has been such. I think it has. At any rate it was an asylum for the victims of religious persecution in days when Europe burnt alive and tortured "infidels" and "heretics" Its art and literature have been grossly underestimated, its comparative enlightenment unrecognised save by a few deep-thinking Orientalists. However that may be, it is quite certain that it had not consciously attempted to present a great example of Islamic progress to the world at large, being kept incessantly at war by the attacks of Christendom, until some fourteen years ago, when there took place a great awakening of the Osmanli Muslims. They suddenly beheld their own shortcomings from the Muslim standpoint, they saw that Europe had some reason for denouncing them; and, holding out their hands to Europe, they asked for peace and leisure to reform their country and improve their lives, resolved with Allah's help to give the world a

great example of Islamic progress upon modern lines which Europe could appreciate. That was the signal for their destruction. Every one has witnessed the sufferings of Turkey since the Revolution of 1908, when the Turks declared their wish for progress with the help of Europe. Every Muslim now can see that while the Muslim Empire was reactionary it was tolerated, even bolstered up, by Christian Governments, but the moment it became progressive, energetic, and inspired with true Islamic fervour, it was furiously attacked and torn to pieces. That means that Christians, jealous of their boasted modern civilisation, would not allow Muslims even the chance of showing what Islam would make of it, for fear that it might make of it a thing so clearly better, that the world would turn to it.

I have dwelt upon this aspect of the question, because it is one which I have noticed personally, and is not mentioned by the learned author of this book, though he implies it often. The purely religious Muslim aspect of the question can hardly be expected to appeal to people who, unlike Muslims, hold religion as a thing apart from life, and therefore have no notion of theocracy. But I think its human aspect should appeal to everybody who retains a sense of honour and of decency.

"Chronicle" Office }
 Bombay } (Sd) MARMADUKE PICKTHALL
 March 24th 1921 }

INTRODUCTION

BY

Mr. MAZHARUL HAQUE.

CHRISTIANITY destroyed the harvest we might have reaped from the culture of antiquity, later it also destroyed our harvest of the culture of Islam. The wonderful Moorish world of Spanish culture, was trampled to death (—I do not say by what kind of feet), why?—because it owed its origin to noble, to manly instincts, because it said yea to life, even that life so full of the rare and refined luxuries of the Moor!

Nietzsche in the Anti Christ.

Later on the Crusaders waged war upon something before which it would have been more seemly in them to grovel in the dust,—a culture, beside which even our Nineteenth Century would seem very poor and very "senile."—Of course they wanted booty: the Orient was rich For goodness' sake let us forget our prejudices! Crusades—superior piracy, that is all

Ibid

It is said that history repeats itself or to express the same idea a little differently, we may say, that there are traits in human psychology which persist in appearing and re-appearing even after long periods of dormancy. Ideas often appear in different forms and under different names, but essentially they are identical although man has often been interested in denying this identity. The will to power is a universal trait which at times dominates all our ethical and moral sentiments such as those of honesty, justice and

fair play. Sometimes it appears in the form of religious intolerance, at others it assumes the form of racial superiority. Conquests, annexations, protectorates, and mandates are all different forms and names under which the will to power asserts itself. In the middle ages it took the form of religious Intolerance which entailed the destruction of Islamic culture about which Nietzsche speaks in such eloquent and burning words of indignation. In the twentieth century it assumes the form of racial superiority and white-race domination and again destroys the remnants of Islamic Culture. It thinks not of the privations, sufferings, miseries, it inflicts upon a portion of humanity, in its mad career of destruction. In the middle ages they coveted gold and silver, now they covet oil and coal, commodities which can be converted into gold and silver. This is not a superior piracy, but a very inferior piracy. Man has allowed this will to be developed without check or hindrance so much so that there have been great men who have persuaded themselves into the belief that this will is innate in human nature and cannot be eradicated in spite of human efforts to the contrary. And this belief will hold good as long as human actions are guided and determined by purely materialistic considerations. But a time must come when for sheer self-preservation the world will have to take a longer view, revise its judgments and will be converted to the opinion that the will to power is an evil thing, and must be eradicated. This must be done sooner or later. There is no third alternative. At present the world of humanity is rapidly speeding on its downward course and if not stopped it must be destroyed.

The last European war is an illustration in point. England was compelled to join this world-wide conflagration in the first place by the instinct of self-preservation. In a world-wide war it was not possible for a world-wide power to remain neutral. England's possessions were scattered all over the world and this had to be guarded and protected. The most vital consideration was the safety of India. If India was lost then the English Empire came to an inglorious end. The trade jealousy of the Teutons and the rise of Germany to the new position of a great naval power which challenged the supremacy of England over the seas, were other deciding factors. Ostensibly England proclaimed to the world that she had entered the list of the combatants out of purely philanthropic motives, to champion the cause of righteousness and justice to vindicate the rights of smaller nationalities and to preserve modern civilization which was threatened by the militarism of the Central powers of Europe. No ulterior motive, no idea of territorial gain or of commercial advantage ever crossed her mind. When once her entry into the war was an accomplished fact she acted in accordance with the English adage that every thing is fair in love and war. She was out to win the war by all available means and she must win it come what may. Her vast resources of men in her subject populations, her fabulous wealth, her clever diplomacy and her over generous promises and pledges were brought upon the one object of winning the war. There were three enemies and all of them must be humbled to dust. Germany was the arch-offender but even in defeat she is much too powerful and will not allow herself to be crushed. All attempts to ruin

her economically by mulcting her in huge amounts of ready and hard cash has failed. She is still defiant and breathes fire and sword. The weaker Austria has been thoroughly dismembered with no possibility of raising her head again. There remained Turkey poor old decrepit Turkey, the sick man and the eye sore of Europe—she must be wiped out. Her offence was unforgiveable ; she is Muslim by religion and Tartar by race and cannot be tolerated in Christian Europe. In Asia she is the greatest danger to the possessions of England as she lay right athwart her route to India. Again as the spiritual head of Islam, she is an ever present danger to England's domination over the Muslim peoples. No stone was left unturned to bring the entire weight of the Allied powers to bring upon the destruction of Turkey. Her subjects were bribed with gold and incited to rebel, her Governors were enticed away from their allegiance by the mythical promises of mythical independence and the Mussalmans of other countries were induced to fight their coreligionists by a declaration that the war was not a religious war, that the holy places of Islam would be protected and that no injury to their sacred institutions was contemplated. Of course it was not possible to keep these promises while the war was in progress. But things were done so recklessly that Nemesis has soon over-taken the evil doers and the promise-breakers. During the war a strict censorship kept the followers of Islam in the dark, as to the happenings in their holy lands. After the war news have been filtering in, which have set the whole Islamic world on fire.

Four hundred million of the followers of Islam are simply infuriated to desperation. Had it not been for the

activities of that great son of India, Mahatma Gandhi who foreseeing the danger ahead directed the energies of the people into the channel of Non-violent-Non-co-operation the fury of Indian Muslims would have taken a most undesirable and deplorable turn. The Afghans, the Egyptians, the Turks, the Arabs are all against England, because they consider her to be the destroyer of their religion. Turkey has ceased to be a political entity and thereby the institution of Khilafat has become a mockery. The Khalif of Muslim is an impotent prisoner in the hands of England. According to the latest report he cannot even concentrate his troops in his own capital to repel the invasion of his enemies. While France and Italy have shown their willingness to revise the treaty of Severe, England alone has stood in the way. And why? Because England has swallowed the richest morsel out of the loot in this war and is unwilling to disgorge it. Frantic attempts are being made in all directions with the object of digesting this loot. Just as during the war promises and pledges were plentiful, so after the war the denials and disclaimers are numerous. Outrages on the holy places of Islam are denied, promises to the Arabs are denied, the very plain words of Mr. Lloyd George are denied. Even the sacred institution of Khilafat is being denied and the world is told that it is of recent growth and an invention of Pan-Islamists and the late Sultan Abdul Hamid. A band of men have arisen who are trying to re-write the history of Islam by distorting facts and trying to fit them into their prepossessions and predilections. No one can deny to these men the meed of patriotism but no body can take their presentation of facts as true. In the eternal crusade against Islam this is the new

phase and a very dangerous phase indeed. Government officers have been appointed in India to preach this Gospel and some politicians in England have joined them, but historical truths cannot be killed by propaganda work.

My friend Dr. Syed Mahmud has exposed the hollowness of this propaganda in the present illuminating book. He has strengthened the position that he takes up by reference to a mass of state documents and unimpeachable English authorities which cannot be resisted. The readers will find in this work the historical position of the relation of Islam and England cleared up very accurately and lucidly. The acquaintance of the author with the original Islamic authorities and his vast historical erudition has given him an undoubted advantage over the new historians. The Khilafat question has been dealt in such a masterly and convincing manner that no impartial man can help agreeing with him. Perhaps some people will consider it as too historical, perhaps some will say that he has not dealt with the outrages on the holy places of Islam. But these are matters of temperaments. There can be no two opinions as to the accuracy and usefulness of this book and there is no doubt that the public at large will read it with pleasure and profit.

"Sedaqat Ashram"
Patna,
28.4.21.

} (Sd.) MAZHARUL HAQUR.

THE KHILAFAT AND ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL ASPECT.

A growing sense of duty as a Muslim in face of the recent tragedy that is being enacted in the world and a hope, perhaps, illusory, that we may contribute to remove certain misunderstandings regarding the question of the Khilafat impel us to write these lines.

The Khilafat question is full of interest: it has been the subject of much controversy. Its analysis is one of the difficult tasks awaiting the future historians of Islam. The subject, unfortunately, has suffered in the hands of political writers, influenced as they must be with preconceptions of the particular cults and dogmas of their particular Schools. This has caused a lamentable lapse in historical accuracy and the issue has been obscured. The issue having as it does an important bearing on India's Muslim population in their relations with their Sovereign should be clearly and impartially appreciated.

The Publicity Bureau of the Indian Government has recently issued a pamphlet, "A straight talk on the Khilafat Question," in which a student of history is amazed to find the following statement. "It must be remembered," says the writer, "that the recognition by the Indian Mohammadans of the Sultan of Turkey as their Khalif is a new thing, a creation

of the last fifty years, the result of the growth of a political Pan-Islamic movement and there is no historical basis for the claim that the Khilafat implies any temporal allegiance on the part of the Indian Muslim to the Sultan of Turkey." And this is, if my information is correct, written by a well-known professor of History of Mohamedan India. In his zeal to serve his country the learned professor has evidently forgotten the facts of History.

The official declaration of war with Turkey placed the Mussalmans of India in an indescribably difficult position. The event brought into prominence at once the fundamental question of Indian Muslim loyalty to the King-Emperor and their attitude towards the Head of Islamic faith. There is no denying the fact that the Mussalmans of India, no less than the Muslims of the other parts of the world, feel themselves strongly attached by a religious, traditional and sentimental tie to his Sultanic Majesty the Khalif of Islam. To an European this tie which binds a person in the Gangetic valley to an individual on the Bosphorous—persons who have never seen nor are ever likely to see each other—may seem incomprehensible or even absurd. Yet such is the fact and it deserves, I venture to think, on the part of all right-thinking people a consideration more grave and a reprobation less intemperate than it has hitherto received. For it is an expression of a feeling which is most potent factor in the spiritual relation of the Islamites. Its causes are to be sought in the deep rooted religious ardour of the Semitic races among whom Islam first sprang. The religion of the Semite must always demand the first attention of the student of his civilization. This strong religious

sense has been a powerful factor elsewhere and particularly where there has existed a strong priestly class, as in India; but in the Semite this reached the highest possible limit. The real origin of the Khilafat may be sought in the character and institutions of the Semitic races which could not think of a ruler without religious sanctity. Individualism preponderates amongst the Semites very greatly but it is subordinated and resigned at the call of religious and spiritual impulses. Some sort of an elective system always existed amongst the Semites and was regarded as a sacred political institution. Such an election ever carried with it a kind of implied religious authority. The kings of Edom appear in very early times to have been elected princes. And the Phoenicians (including Carthaginians) present a very large variety of political constitutions, which fact reminds one of ancient Greece. Absolute patriotism, in its territorial sense probably was not so strong amongst them, yet the feeling was not wholly absent as is seen by the wars of the Phoenicians against Rome in which Carthage perished, and the mortal struggle of Tyre against Alexander though in the latter religious motives also played some part. But then, who could say that the heroes of Marathon did more service to humanity than the armies of Maccabees?

Islam effected great changes in the character and the customs of the Arabs, but it intensified their racial characteristic of religious ardour. Never before the Arab people had a national religion. Mohammed gave them one, and united his disciples in a political religious tie, the solidarity and strength of which

time and distance do not seem to abate. Islam greatly contributed towards ameliorating the social, moral and the political condition of the Arabs. The prophet not only succeeded in subordinating the clannish feeling to the sense of national unity, but by his behaviour towards non-Arab Muslims such as the Persian *Salman* and the negro *Bilal*, strove by practice as well as by precept to secure to all believers a footing of equality. Unprecedented was the rapid spread of this cult of Islamic equality under the Prophet's immediate successors by the end of the 7th century it extended from the Atlantic to the Indus and from the Caspian to the Cataracts of the Nile. Equality of all believers was clearly the Prophet's ideal. Thus in the Quran we read ; "The believers are brethren, therefore make peace between your brothers." And again ; "The noblest of you in God's sight is he who most feareth God." The following tradition is even more explicitly directed against racial pride and the arrogance of noble birth, "O man, God hath taken away from you the arrogance of heathen days and the ancient pride in ancestry ; an Arab hath no other precedence over a non-Arab than by virtue of the fear of God ; Ye are all the progeny of Adam, and Adam himself is of the earth " Since the prophet established himself as the head of an independent political community at Medina, Islam became the faith of a political body ; and while he invited the Faithful to accept his religious injunctions, he also gave them laws as their king. "He was

" انا الهومنون اخوة فاصحابوا بين اخويكم "

" ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم "

لا فضل عرلى على عجمى ولا عجمى على عربى - انكم ابناء آدم

their Imam," says Noldeke, "the leader in their prayer and he was their Amir and Kadi-prince and Magistrate." Thus the supreme temporal and spiritual authority became linked together and "Islam was from its beginning a nation no less than a Church" It was demanded of the Muslims that they should obey "the Messenger of God, and those amongst them who have authority." We thus see from this expression that Mohamed shared his temporal authority with others. The combination under one leadership of such a heterogeneous mass as that of the Arabs would have been unthinkable a few years before. It became quite natural, though, as soon as the Prophet's mouth was recognized as the organ of Allah's voice, it was found necessary that there must be a Khalif, a deputy of the Prophet in all his functions (except that of Messenger of God) who would be ruler and judge and leader of public worship, but above all *Amirul Momenin*, Commander of the Faithful—in the struggle against the enemies of the faith

After the death of the prophet it was necessary to elect his successor who would act as an Imam in his place. The question of the Khilafat was not altogether absent from the mind of Mohamed. He did not nominate any one to succeed him, he left it to the choice of the Faithful to elect one whom they wished. There is a tradition that old Amir, son of Tufail, came to the Prophet and said, "If I embrace Islam what would my rank be? Wilt thou give me the command after thee?" "It does not belong to me," said the Prophet, "to dispose of the command after me."

1. Mussalman writers have generally recognized four distinct phases which the office of the Khilafat has undergone, and four distinct periods of its history :—

The *first historical period* was a pure theocracy, in which the Khalif was a saint as well as
 632–661 A. D. priest and king. The period was only of thirty years' duration and is represented by the four Khalifs—Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali—who occupied after the Prophet the highest position in Islam. They are known as *Khulafa-ur-Rashadeen*. This was the most sacred historical period in Islam and represents the highest ideal of state. This period in the history of the Khilafat is very short, but very important. Soon after the death of the Prophet (8th June 632 A. D.) the most prominent of his companions met together to elect his successor. The choice fell on Abu Bakr, who had been his most trusted friend. During this phase of the Khilafat the precepts of the religion were strictly maintained. The Khalifs lived as a life as the meanest of his subjects. Princes and nobles, foreigner or Arabian, converts or captives, were amazed when they sought out the Commander of the Faithful at Medin to behold one who in no wise differed externally from his fellow-citizens; who as the historians tell us slept on a mat on the ground, wore the roughest raiment and ate the coarsest food, so that one of them speaking of the luxury he voluntarily abjured, said that, if he wished it, "the finest honey and the softest barley bread" would be within his reach. This then, is the ideal to which the pious and orthodox Muslim has in all subsequent times looked back with admiration and affection and for the return of which

he ardently hopes when he dreams of a Mahdi who shall come in the fulness of time to fulfil the ideal and renew the glorious tradition of the Khilafat and to restore the true faith, and "fill the earth with justice after it has been filled with iniquity."

The *Second period* which lasted for six hundred years was that of the Arabian monarchy 661—1258 A. D. in which the Khilafat took the shape of hereditary temporal dominion. The Khalif no longer remained a saint or Doctor of Law. Mu'awiyah was the first Khalif who nominated his son in his life-time to succeed him. The Umayyad Khilafat presents a complete contrast to the period which we have just considered. The old simplicity of Omar and piety of Ali were gone. They did not allow the foreign believers to enjoy the like privileges with themselves. They refused, contrary to the principles of Islam, the rights and privileges which all true believers were entitled to claim. With their overthrow the power of the Arabs as a dominant nation had gone and their place was taken first by the Persians and then by the Turks. The Arabs became a great people and for a time played a great part in the world's history because they were actuated by a great Idea of Democracy and Brotherhood: they lost the great Idea and desired dominion for its own sake and then the very Idea whence they had derived their power became its destroyer. The period of Abbaside Khilafat was dominated by Persian influence and later on by Turkish influence. As the Abbaside Khalifs came to power through the help of the Persian Mussalmans they never forgot in their choice of ministers and state officials that they owed their

power to non-Arab Muslims. In spite of its many faults Abbaside dynasty abounds in good qualities, "richly endowed with generous attributes wherein the wares of Science found ready sale, the merchandize of Culture was in great demand." Charitable bequests flowed freely, liberty of conscience was respected, the frontiers were bravely defended and in short, the world was prosperous. This was the time when civilization, science and culture were in the hands of the Muslims, "whilst Mediaeval Europe was wrapped in darkness and barbarism", says that champion of the Persian liberty Professor Browne, "glad to borrow a little light on Philosophy, Medicine or Mathematics from Avicenna the Persian or Averroes the Moor."

The Third Period which lasted nearly three hundred years was a phase of temporal interregnum during which the Khalifat exercised little sovereign rights. The temporal authority of Islam which is theoretically supposed to have been continued without break even during this period was then in deligation with the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and other Muslim princes. Beibars hearing that a descendant of the Abbaside dynasty survived in Syria, conceived the design of setting him up as Khalif, and of receiving at his hand spiritual blessing and title to the Sultanate. Ahmad Tahir, such was his name, was brought to Cairo. At his approach, the Sultan with his state dignitaries went forth in pomp to receive him. Then there was read from the pulpit a Khutba by the Khalif, who assumed the title of *Mustansirbillah*, conferring on Beibars the sovereign title, and impressing on him the duty of

warring for the Faith. Mustansir was killed in a battle (1262 A. D.) which he was fighting against the Mongols. On his death Beibars secured another scion of Abbaside descent, and installed him as Khalif and swore allegiance to him.

The Last Period is that of the Ottoman Khilafat. Salim I conquered Egypt in 1517 A.D., from the Mamluk Sultan and received a bestowal of the dignity of the Khilafat from *Motawakkel Ibn-Omer-el-Hakim* the last descendant of the Abbaside under the title of *Sultanes-Salatın Wa Hakimel Hawakim Malekel Bahrayn Wa Bariyan Hami Din, Khalifah Rasul Alluh, Amirul Momenin* etc. etc. This form is preserved to this day. It was an irony of fate that the very people who destroyed the Islamic Civilization became the defenders of the Faith. It was a fellow countryman of Salim who sacked Baghdad in 1258 A. D., from which shock Islam never recovered either politically or socially. ~~These~~ Mongol devastations are summed up thus: "They came, destroyed, burned, slew, took and departed." "آمدند و کُشدند و سوختند و کشتند و بردند و رفتند"

Though the moral and intellectual stagnation caused by the destruction of "the garden of justice" (Baghdad) by Halaku could never be repaired, yet the descendants and kinsmen of Halaku always fought the battles of Islam since their conversion to that Faith. The Sultan of Turkey had more than one claim to be regarded as the champion of the Mussalman Faith. He was the grandson of Mohammed the Conqueror, who had finally extin-

guished the Roman Empire of the East, and in its place had established Islamic rule. He was most powerful of all the Muslim rulers of that time. Above all his position was legalised with the bestowal of the dignity by the last scion of the Abbaside Khilafat. When Salim took the title a great controversy arose among the doctors of law as to his right, and after a long discussion and protracted debate of several years, his successor was formally accepted and acknowledged as the rightful Khalif at Mecca. Since then no one ever seriously disputed the right of the Turkish Sultan to be the Khalif of Islam.

The title of the house of Ottoman to the Khilafat is based on the following claims :—

1. *Nomination* :—Mutawakkel, as has already been said a descendant of the house of Abbas, nominated Salim as Khalif. This is an undisputed historical fact. The Sunni School accepted it as legal and found a precedent in the nomination of Omar by Abu-Bakr on his death-bed as his successor to the Khilafat. Mutawakkel being the last surviving descendant of the Abbaside Khalif and also as one who was undisputedly acknowledged in Egypt, India and some other Muslim countries had full legal right to abdicate in favour of the Muslim sovereign.

2. *Election* :—The claim of the house of Salim is not only based on the nomination of Mutawakkel but his nomination was also approved by the Muslim world. He obtained the sanction of a legal Body of Elders. It was argued that as *Ahl-el-Aqde* (the Body of Elders) had been removed from Medina to

Damascus, and from Damascus to Baghdad, and from Baghdad to Cairo so it had been once more legally removed from Cairo to Constantinople. Salim held a meeting of the Ulema from Alazhar in Cairo and of the Turkish Ulema in the mosque of Ayyub, who elected him as Khalif. A form of election is to the present day observed in Constantinople. Each Sultan on his accession has to receive the sanction of the Ulema and the sacred sword of Ali from the hands of the Sheikhul-Islam in the mosque of Ayyub to complete his title to the Khilafat.

3. *The guardianship of the Holy Shrines* :— Mecca, Medina, Kербela, Jerusalem and other places. In early times many a war was fought to protect the *Bait-Allah* (Mecca). The Sultan of Turkey was the only Mussalman sovereign in recent times who was a Power strong to protect *Bait-Allah*. He is called *Khadim Harmain Sharifain* (servant of the Holy Shrines).

4. *Independent Muslim State* —This is an essential feature of the Khilafat. The Muslim law is insistent on it and no one who is not an independent sovereign can have a good and valid title to the dignity of Khilafat.

5. *Possession of the sacred relics* :—This plea exercises such a powerful influence at the present day over the general body of the Mussalmans that it cannot be ignored. These relics consist of the cloak of the Prophet, the sword and the flag of Ali and several other things. It is universally accepted by the Mohammedans that after the sack of Baghdad, in 1258 A. D., these relics were saved and brought to Cairo and thence to Constantinople.

6. *The Consent of the Muslim Population:—Ijmaul Ummat* :—This is the most important condition. If even a Mussalman ruler seizes the Holy Shrines, he cannot be regarded as Khalif unless and until he is accepted as such by the Mussalmans at large, as it happened in the case of Karamathians in the tenth century and the Wahabites in the Eighteenth century. So it is quite misconception to suppose that the Sultan of Turkey is the Khalif only because he is the servant of, and till recently was the protector of, the Holy Shrines. It is for this reason that the Sherif of Mecca himself recognizes the Sultan as legal and rightful Khalif up to this day.

7. *The right of the sword* :—That is to say, the *de facto* possession of the sovereign title. It was argued that the Khilafat being a necessity it was also necessary that the *de facto* holder of the title should be recognized as the legal Khalif, until a claimant with a better title should appear. No one since the time Salim seized the sceptre of the Khilafat had seriously disputed his title. No rival had been found and the last descendant of Abbaside had waved his rights. In support of this proposition they cited the examples of Moawiyah, and of *Ahmed-Abbas*. Each is *hundredfold stronger than* all theories and the fact is that for centuries the Turks have fought the battles of Islam and had been the pride of Mussalmans ; without the Turkish arms Islam could never have existed. Whilst the rest of the Islamic world were either indifferent or too weak to resist the Western encroachment, it was Turkey, and Turkey alone which erected the barrier with its bones against such encroachment. Through

the dynasty of the Ottoman Turks, Islam once more became the break-water against Christendom, both for its own self and for the other civilizations of Asia. The old dream of the conquest of Constantinople and the complete destruction of the Roman Empire, had been realized through them. The fighting for Allah's cause is the most enviable occupation for a Muslim. The Quran says, "They who are killed in God's service will have a great reward," and the Turks undertook to die in God's service. They have been therefore looked upon as the servants of God and their king as the chief of the Faithful all the world over. Faith has this view and reason cannot doubt it, for who can, even from the modern non-religious point of view, deny that the Turk has been the saviour of Islam and something larger—the Asiatic spiritual civilizations in general—from the ever aggressive materialistic ambition of Europe. We have thus seen that the institution of the Khilafat is as old as the Islam itself and it always carried with it a religious sanctity. It has been inter-woven with the very history of Islam and as such cannot be separated from it. It must therefore remain in the nostrils of Islamic life as long as it persists.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL ASPECT.

The word Khalif is derived from the root Khalafa, "to leave behind," which in the legal sense came to mean a successor of the Prophet, an heir to the temporal and spiritual power. The Muslim law when originally framed, did not recognize the existence of a king. The position of the early Khalifs and their authority might be compared to that of the chiefs of the ancient Republic of Rome, each successor being chosen from amongst the people by common consent. In the eye of the Muslim Law the Khalif, being a successor to the successors of the Prophet and the *Amirul-Momenin*, the *Saut ul-Hai* or the living voice of Islam, is the only legal authority in the matters of innovation. He is competent enough to bring about any political, legal or social reform on the authority of the Quran. The first four Khalifs had arbitrary power to legislate. They modified at will the yet undeveloped *Legis non Scripta* of Islam, and not only did they administer the religious law, but they were its interpreters as well as its architects. As a Khalif, the Sultan of Turkey can change or modify on the authority of the Quran any law of the well known Schools of Jurists which ill suits the modern conditions, as Suleman the Magnificent did actually promulgate a series of decrees in contravention of the Hanifite School of the Common Law which affected the civil administration. Several other Sultans did the same. This met with the approval of the Ulema of the Hanifite School. The authority of the Khalif is not

limited within any frontiers but extends to all Muslims personally wherever they may be. His laws therefore if intended for the whole Muslim population will be binding on Mussulmans as such. When such is the power and prerogative of the Khalif in the eye of the Muslim Law the Mussalmans including those living under other sovereigns come under his decrees of matters even political for in Islam politics and religion are a mixed compound. The Khilafat implies temporal allegiance as well, because the Khalif is the heir not only to the religious but also to the temporal power of the Prophet. The Prophet united in himself the two functions of the king and the spiritual chief and this feature of the Islamic sovereignty has continued to the latest time. The Khalif has always been and is to this day regarded as the temporal representative of the Prophet if not the vicar of God. The power of the Khalif ranged over not merely temporal affairs of the state but also matters religious, social and political. He had to protect religion just as much as he had to defend the frontiers. The Khalif, therefore, is the highest executive officer of the Islamic system. He, in a word, administers Islam and the contents of Islam is determined by the agreement of the Muslim people expressed immediately through the Ulema and ultimately if indirectly by the people. Walter Bagehot, one of the greatest political thinkers of modern times, says, "How to get obedience of man is a hard problem, what you do with that obedience is less critical. To gain that obedience, the primary condition is the identity, not the union but the sameness, of what we now call Church and state." Dr. Arnold always preached that this identity

was the great cure for the misguided modern world. No division of power, says Baghot, is endureable without danger, probably without destruction, the priest must not teach one thing and the king another, the two must be the same, because they are the same. The idea of difference between spiritual penalties and legal penalties must never be awakened. Indeed early Greek thought or early Roman thought would never have comprehended it. Such is the opinion of one of the greatest modern political thinker. Islam of course has preached it for centuries and acted upon it. Our meaning may not be misunderstood. The Khalif is not necessarily the high priest of Islam. He is fallible like other men and is subject like every Muslim to the impersonal authority of the same law. The Prophet himself is not regarded infallible by many Mussalman theologians, *e. g.*, Abu-Ishaque Tabari. Mohammed succeeded in commanding the absolute submission of an entire people, yet no man has depreciated his own authority more than he; "I am", he says, "a man like you, like you my forgiveness also depends on the mercy of God." "From a legal point of view," says Al-Mawardi, the earliest Muslim constitutional lawyer who flourished during the reign of the Abbasside Khalif Al-Qadir, "the Khalif does not occupy any privileged position." In theory he is like other members of the state. He can be directly sued in an ordinary law court. The second Khalif was once accused of appropriating a larger share in the spoils of war and he has to clear his conduct before the people. In his judicial capacity he is open to the criticism of every Muslim. The second Khalif, Omar, was severely reprimanded by an old woman who

pointed out to him that his interpretations of a certain Quranic verse were absolutely wrong. The great Omar listened to her arguments and decided the case according to her views. Al-Mawardi divides the Muslim Community into two classes :—

1. The electors.
2. The candidates for election.

The qualifications necessary for an Elector are:—

1. Good reputation.
2. Necessary knowledge of the State affairs.
3. Necessary insight and judgment.

It may be noted that there is no property qualification. The qualifications demanded of a candidate to the Khilafat are the following :—

1. Spotless character.
2. Freedom from moral and physical infirmities.

The Turkish Sultan Murad in recent times was deposed for want of this quality.

3. Insight necessary for a ruler.
4. Courage to defend the Empire.
5. Full age.
6. Male sex,

The Khawarij, however, hold that even a woman can be elected as Khalif.

The Elector has the right to demand the deposition of the Khalif. He can, on the subject, address the Muslim congregation in the Mosque after the

prayer. The Mosque, it must be remembered is the Muslim Forum and the institution of daily prayer is closely connected with the political life of Muslim communities. It may, therefore, be seen that there is absolutely no authority to say that Mosque is meant "for prayer and the prayer alone" and for no other purpose. Any question affecting the religion or the Islamic communities can be discussed in the Mosque. The history of the Prophet and the early Khalifs abounds in instances of such nature. In fact, in those days all questions concerning the State were debated and decided in the Mosque. The people were to elect *Ahlel-Aqde* and no one was to demand his election to the Khilafat. There was no contest and canvassing, it was thought the people would elect the right person to the office.

The question that Khalif should be one of the Quraish is greatly misunderstood. There are certainly, some sayings of the Prophet which lay down that, "Khalif will be of the tribe of Quraish." But they are qualified by the phrase *ما قاموا الدين* (So long as they maintain the religion). It is in fact, in the nature of a prophecy rather than an injunction of the Shariat. Abu Bakr also is reported to have said the same thing but it was said at a time when the tribe of Quraish wielded supreme and unquestioned authority among the Arabs. If the Khilafat was to be exclusively reserved for the tribe of Quraish the Prophet would not have observed that "The Quraish will retain the Khilafat so long as they uphold and maintain the faith; otherwise

it will pass on to others." ' It has further been reported by Imam Ahmad that Omar the Great said: "If Abu-Obaila be alive at the time of my death I will nominate him to be the Khalif, otherwise Munz ibn-Jabul will be nominated for the Khilafat. Neither of them was of the tribe of Quraish. The Great Omar is again, reported by Abu Rafa to have said, "If Salim the manumitted slave of Abu-Hozaila, were living, I would not have given precedence to any over him." The *Sharah Maqasid*, one of the best known books on Muslim theology contains the following saying of Imam Razi, "Khilafat is the religious and temporal leadership of Islam which can be bestowed upon any Mussalman." Ibn-Khalladun the famous historian says, "The Khilafat is in no sense exclusive to the Quraish." It is a well known historical fact that Osama, the son of Zaid, a slave, was given the command of an important expedition in the life time of the Prophet. Abu Bakr and many other distinguished Companions of Mohammed were placed under him. When people murmured the Prophet of Allah declared that "Osama was fit for this." ' Aisha the wife of Mohammed used to say "if Zaid have been alive none but he would have succeeded the Prophet as Khalif." ' This shows that fitness and capacity, according to the Prophet himself, were the only conditions for acquiring the Command. And indeed, it could not be otherwise. Islam taught democracy and Mohammed came to preach the equality

1 "إن هذا الأمر في قريش ما أقاموا الدين "

2 "إن أساء لها أهل "

3 "لو كان زيد حياً ما استخلف رسول الله غيره "

of man and, therefore, to confine the Khilafat to any particular tribe would be to strike a blow to the very preachings of Quran and to subvert the very basic principle of Islam.

The Sunnis and the Shias are not at variance with each other on the question of the Khilafat itself. Their difference consisted only with regard to candidature. But when a Khalif is established every one is bound to obey him. There is no difference between the two sects on this point.¹ The party of Ali does not recognize the election of the first three Khalifs as valid yet they obey them on the religious principle that once a ruler has established himself and has been acknowledged as such he must be obeyed. Ali himself swore allegiance to his predecessors. The case of Hussain has also been misunderstood. At the time of the great fight at Kerbala Ezid's Khilafat was not fully established and the Muslim people had not recognized him to be the Khalif. Moreover, Hussain had no intention to fight when he started from Medina. The attitude of Ibn Saad Ezid's Commander compelled him to take up arms in self defence.² The oath of allegiance to the elected Khalif possessed a sacramental virtue and imparted a sacredness to his personality. It was a fresh enunciation of the saying *Vox populi vox Dei*. The sacramental virtue attached to the beya'at was based upon the following idea. All the rules and ordinances which regulate

¹ This is borne out, if any fresh evidence was necessary, by the Shia meet ing held all over the country recently in favour of the Turkish Khilafat.

² Moulana Abul Kalam e 'Khilafat and Jazirat-ul-Arab' p. 52.

the conduct of the general body of Muslims are the utterances of the voice of Allah. This is, in substance, the *Ijmaul-Ummat*, the consensus of the people, and when they unanimously or almost unanimously, chose a spiritual leader as head of the congregation of Islam, a divine sanction is imparted to his spiritual authority; he becomes the source and channel of legitimate Government and he alone has the right to command obedience of the faithful—Shias and Sunnis alike. Thus we see that there can be no question of difference between these two great sects of Islam as to the established fact of the Ottoman Khilafat.

Islam compels obedience to the Khalif as much as it does to the word of Allah and to the Prophet. A Muslim has to obey the Khalif unless the latter goes against the order of God and the Prophet. Disobedience to the Khalif is the source of displeasure of God and his Prophet. There is a tradition quoted by Ibnî Omar which runs thus : "He who rebelled against the authority of the Khalif would not be forgiven on the day of Resurrection." And then there is an authentic tradition which lays down that if a Muslim take up arms against another Muslim on behalf of infidels he is not to be reckoned as Mussalman.* Such is the judgment of the Prophet of Allah against a rebel. It is no wonder then that Mohommadans regard the Sherif Hussain as a fallen wretch.

١ "من خلع يدا من طاعة لقي الله يوم القيامة"

٢ "ومن حمل علينا السلام فليس منا"

Both the tradition and the Quran inculcates the necessity of Imam. For instance Quran says "Obey ye God, and obey the apostle and those in authority among you". Many traditions, moreover tell us of the obedience to the Imam and the necessity of an Imam. It is impossible for the people to execute the ordinances of God without the help of an Imam. Religion cannot be properly safe-guarded unless its cause is entrusted to one or more persons. The only way, in which law and order can be established and maintained is to entrust affairs to a single man who should be virtuous, learned, a capable administrator, and possessing sufficient strength to enforce the law and to protect the religion. According to Quran no one can be a Khalif unless he has sufficient authority on earth, so that he may be able to administer the law and protect the religion. An Imam of the Muslim should not, therefore, be a creature of a non Muslim Power. "I-lam would hardly obey," says Mr Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, "another Khalif who was himself obedient to Christendom". The demands for the independence of the Sultan is a natural consequence of the requirements of the Islamic Law relative to the head of the congregation (Khalif) and the validity of prayers. "The law requires a spiritual nexus between the supreme Imam and the people, that nexus is not established if he is not an independent ruler, and the prayers are consequently invalid." (Syed Ameer Ali).

Let us now consider the question whether Khalif's temporal authority was ever recognized by the people and princes of other

Muslim loyal & constitutional

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم

Muslim kingdoms including India. Let those in authority ponder over it seriously because upon it depends the clear understanding of the complex problem that the Khilafat implies temporal as well as religious allegiance. A Muslim or a non-Muslim ruler cannot command the loyalty of the faithful living under him if that loyalty is at variance with his loyalty to his Imam. The principle is clear and simple. The loyalty to one's God and faith should always take precedence over his loyalty to a purely secular ruler. Among the Mussalmans, as it has already been shown, loyalty and obedience to the Khalif means loyalty and obedience to God. No ruler of the Mussalman people can legally and legitimately, according to Islamic doctrines expect their obedience against the authority of their Khalif. If a Muslim or a non-Muslim prince demand the obedience of his Mussalman subjects he must live on terms of accord and harmony with the Commander of the Faithful and it was therefore that in the history of Islamic peoples the politico-religious controversies which turned upon the right to the Khilafat are by far the most important.

The political importance of the Khilafat was so great-partly due to the sacramental character of Khalif's election-that after long he had lost every vestige of temporal power, conquerors and chieftains solicited from him the consecration of their power. The Khalif's confirmation legitimised their authority, vested in them the lawful Government of their states, and made every popular rising against them illegal and impious. This ordination was effected by the grant of a formal diploma which was invariably

accompanied by a robe of honour, Muslim princes in other countries recognized the Khalif as their sovereign, stamped his name upon their coins, and gave it precedence in public prayer. Theoretically the fiction of an undivided empire of Islam was maintained all through the different periods of Muslim history. This was considered so important that on the death of the Prophet the Mussalmans at Medina at once proceeded to elect a Khalif even before the burial had taken place. The names of Khalif, Commander of the Faithful, always continued to inspire reverence. Even when sunk in deep decay and surrounded by the ruins and wreckage of its glorious days, it stood as an institution commanding the universal homage of the Muslim world.

The dignity and authority of the Khilafat were so deeply engrafted on the mind and imagination of the people and princes that the mighty Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni walked a mile merely to receive the envoy of a titular Khalif like Baqibillah who brought a robe of honour for the Sultan with the title of *Eminud-Dowla*. The kings of Ghazni, even after Sultan Mahmud, continued to have Khalif's name on their coinage in recognition of the fact that they derived their power from him. Mohammed Kasim conquered and administered Sindh early in the 8th century A. D. Those of the conquered people who embraced Islam recognized the religious and temporal authority of the Ommayad Sovereigns. Ghazniite invasions must have brought with them the stories of the Baghdad Khilafat so the people of this country were familiar, from that remote time, with the

Recognition by
the Muslim prin-
ces.

power, prestige and religious sanctity of the Khilafat. The coin of Mohammed bin Sam, the founder of the Muslim Empire in India, bears the name of the then Khalif. Majority of the Mussalman Kings of India right down to the reign of Humayun not only acknowledged the authority of the Khalif but struck his name on their coins, thus recognizing the Khalif to be the source of all honour, power and prestige. They declared that, "No king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the Khalifa of the race of Abbas, and that every king who had or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation had been or would be overpowered." ¹ Shamsuddin Altamash who ruled only a few years after the Muslim Empire had established itself at Delhi used to style himself a "deputy of the Khalifa of Islam" "السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر التمش يمين خليفه الله فاصر امير المؤمنين". He received the diploma of investiture from the Abbasi Khalifa of Baghdad Al-Mustansir-Billah in 1229 A. D.² Then again in 1313 A. D., the diploma of investiture was sent to Mohammed bin Tughlak by the Egyptian Khalif and emissaries were received by the Sultan with great respect. "From that day," says the author of the Tarikh Firoz Shahi,... "it was ordered that in mentioning the names of the kings in the Khutba, they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the Abbaside Khalifa. The names of those kings who had not received

¹ Barni Vol III pp 249 250.

² See Tabaqat—Nasri p 165.

³ Thomas Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi p 45 (London) 1871

such confirmation were to be removed from the Khutba, and the kings were declared to be superseded." Sultan Mohammed bin Tughlak, styled himself as a "deputy of the Khalifa" Firoz-Shah "the good king of India," also received such robes and diploma from the Egyptian Khalif. He went out bare-footed with his officials to receive the Khalif's ambassador. The kings of India always considered it the greatest honour that could be bestowed upon a ruler to have been invested with the title and robe by the Khalif of Islam. "من چه آن سرتبه دارم که جامه از حضرت خلیفه التماس کنم" "حضرت الله تبارک تعالی بقدرت اعلی درون خلیفه الہام کرد تا بغیر واسطہ التماس فیروز شاہ از درگاه حضرت خلافت جامہ رسید." All the coins of Mohammedan kings upto 1530 A. D., bore the name and title of the Khalif in recognition of his overlordship of Islam.¹ Thus it is seen that not only did Mussalmans acknowledge the Khalif, but no Mussalman ruler, as a rule, had any pretension to anything higher than power vicariously exercised on behalf of the Khalifa. If the practice suffered a temporary eclipse in India during the reign of Akbar, the reason is obvious. It was because Akbar himself tried to claim some divine power and the disapprobation of the Indian Mohammadans which he incurred is certainly due to this.

Now as to the discussion regarding the time when the Sultan of Turkey began to be recognized as Khalif in other Muslim countries and particularly in India. After the conquest of Egypt in the

¹ Tarakhi—Firoz Shahs Vol. III pp 249-250.

² Siraj Adil p 273 276 (Asiatic Society).

³ Thomas Chronicles.

sixteenth century Salim became not only the visible chief of the Mohammadan State throughout the wide dominion subdued to his sway, but also the revered head of the religion of Islam. The Shias of Persia, says Lane-poole, might reject his claim, but in India, in all parts of Asia and Africa, where the traditional Khilafat was recognized, the Ottoman Sultan henceforth was the supreme head of the church, the successor of the spiritual prestige of the long line of Khalifs. There can be no doubt, goes on the learned historian, that it has always added, and still adds a real and important authority to the acts and proclamations of the Ottoman Sultan. Such is the testimony of a well-known English historian. Even in the early 16th century Sultans claim to the Khilafat was recognized by the rulers of Gujrat, the Mussalmans of China, Columbo, Islands of Sumatra and Java and the Malay Peninsula. The Mussalmans of India have all along recognized the Sultan of Turkey as Khalif Shah Waliullah, a great Mujtahid (Doctor) of India who flourished in the 12th century Hijra mentions it in his book *Tafhimat-ul ahya*. It will be remembered that Salim I received his title from Mutawakkel in 1517 A. D. and in 1533 A. D. when Humayun marched against Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujrat, the latter immediately sent an envoy to Sultan Saleman the Magnificent soliciting his imperial protection. A big fleet consisting of eighty vessels was accordingly sent in 1538 A. D., which after a successful battle took the two strongholds Kukele and Ket from the Portugues. The fleet proceeded to Bender-i-Dity, Bahadur Shah's son, Malik Mahmud, the then ruler of Gujrat refused the supply of food and to render

assistance and the Ottoman Commander was compelled to retire. Since then the Sultan Suleman cast a longing eye on India, in fact, he aimed at the subjugation of the whole of the then existing Muslim East; hence his diplomacies in the Arabian and Persian seas. He was their spiritual lord and wanted the Muslims of the world to recognize him as such. Emissaries were sent to China, India and Afghanistan carrying with them the Futwa of the Ulema and holy men of Mecca. And as the name and power of the Turkish Sultan was then well-known and the story of his ever-increasing dominions was in every one's mouth, it did not take long for the people to be convinced of his right and title to the Khilafat.

An enthusiastic account of his travels in India, Afghanistan and Persia has been left for us by Side Ali Reis, the commander of the Ottoman fleet, which was sent to conquer Ormuz from the Portuguese. The fleet landed in Gujrat and "great was the joy of the Mussalmans of Surat when they saw them come." The book is entitled *Miratul-Memalik*, and a German translation of it by Heinrich Freidrich Von Diez (which originally appeared in his *Denk Wurdig Keiten Von Asien*) is now before us¹. The observation of Side Ali Reis throw some light on the topic under discussion. He was hailed by the Mohammedan population of India wherever he went as an envoy of the Padshah of Islam (Sultan of Turkey). He expresses his astonishment at the enthusiasm with which he was received by the

¹ Since writing this in the "East and West" in 1915 I acquired an English translation of the book by Prof Vambery

Mohammadan rulers of India, who presented to him, "addresses of loyalty and devotion to the Padshah of Islam." "While in Gujrat, I visited Sultan," says Side Ali Reis, "his grand vezir Imadul-Mulk, and other dignitaries. The Sultan to whom I presented my credentials was pleased to receive me most graciously and he assured me of his devotion to our glorious Padshah." Another Indian dignitary is reported on another occasion to have said: "We cannot afford to seek a quarrel with Sultan of Turkey. We have need of him. Moreover he is the Padshah of the Islamic world." A very interesting account of the argument and conversation which took place between the Emperor Humayun and the Turkish Admiral on the subject of the Khutba and Khilafat is given, but in order to avoid details we would only mention one or two facts. The Admiral, on the occasion of the conversation referred to above, informed the Emperor of India that even in distant China the name of his sovereign was inserted in Bairam's prayer. "Muslims," continues he, "approached the Khakan (the ruler of China) with the request to allow them to insert the name of Turkish sovereign in Khutba as the latter was the Padshah of Mecca, Medina and Kibla. The Khakan, although an unbeliever, had an insight enough to see the justice of their request which he granted forthwith; he, even went so far as to clothe the Khatib in a robe of honour and to make him ride on an elephant through the city." This story, we are further told found credence in Gujrat where it was first brought by the merchants coming from China and narrated to Side Ali Reis. "Ever since that time," says Reis "the

name of the Padshah of Turkey has been included in the Baitam's prayer." The Emperor Humayun on a different occasion asked the Admiral if the Khan of Crimfa was under the Sultan of Turkey, and on being told that he held his office under the Ottoman sovereign, Humayun remarked, "if that be so, how then has he the right of the Khutba?" "It is a well known fact," replied the Admiral, "that my Padshah alone and no one else has the authority to grant the right of Khutba to whomsoever he wishes." "The statement" says he, "seemed to satisfy every body," and thereupon Humayun turned to his nobles and said, "Surely the only man worthy to bear the title of Padshah (Khalif) is the ruler of Turkey, he alone and no one else in the world," and then the Emperor and his court prayed for the welfare of the Padshah of Islam. Side Ali Reis entered the harbour of Guador on the west coast of Balochistan, narrates our author, and Djelaluddin the son of Malik Dinar was the chief. The Governor of Guador came on board their ship and assured them of his "unalterable devotion to our glorious Padshah." Akbar did attempt, to seize the religious sceptre of the Muslim world, and did wish the people of his dominion to look up to him as the Khalif. He was even styled, "*Hazrat Sultanul Islam Khalifatul Anam and Amirul-Momenin*" His desire to be the spiritual as well as the temporal lord is discernable from the famous document drawn up by Sheikh Mobarak, the father of Abul-Fazal, a paragraph of which ran:—"Should therefore in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinion of the Mujtahids (Doctors) are at variance and His Majesty be inclined to adopt, for the

benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions, he is free." But all his pretensions fell flat on Muslims and he miserably failed in his futile attempt. The Moghul Emperors since the time of Akbar seemed to have ignored the Ottoman Khilafat. It may have been, perhaps, due to the fact that they regarded the Turkish Sultans as their inferiors recalling the historical fact of Timur subduing the Ottoman Empire in 1402 A. D. The attitude of the Moghul rulers of India towards the Ottoman Sultans was haughty indeed. But none of them excepting Akbar ever tried to claim the title and dignity of Khilafat. Their Mussalman subjects recognized the Turkish Sultans as the rightful Khalif and those of the Indian Mussalmans who visited Macca must have said their prayers and performed their pilgrimage under the Imamate and authority of the Turkish Sovereigns.

The author of the *Tohfatul-Alam* writes in the 12th century Hijra an account given to him by a traveller of Sumatra, Java, etc. etc. There he mentions that in the mosque the Khutba is read in the name of Sultan of Roum and the Muslim of those Islands pray on every Friday for the welfare of the Sultan. In 1761 A. D. (1176 A. H.) Syed Qamruddin of Aurangabad Deccan on his way back from the Haj visited Colombo and saw the Mussalman on every Friday praying for Sultan Roum because he was the protector of the Holy Shrines'. In recent times the independent ruler of the Afghans, Amir Abdur Rahman, had recognized the Sultan

1 *Sabhatul Marjan* by Ghulam Ali Azmi. Vide *Moulana Abdur Kalam's "Khilafat and Jaziratul Arab."*

Abdul Hamid as Khalif and received at his hands the confirmation of the title of *Sirajul Millat-Wad-Din*.

It will not, therefore, be rash to draw the conclusion from the strictly historical point of view from these and other similar data that the Sultan of Turkey was recognized and acknowledged as Khalif in India even in the early days of the Moghul rule, when the Khilafat had just devolved on the house of the Ottoman. Thirty six years had only passed since the transfer of the Holy title to Constantinople when Side Ali Reis visited this country, and as it is seen the enthusiasm of the populace for the Padshah of Islam was unbounded everywhere. Moreover a large number of Indian Mussalmans every year used to go to Mecca for the purpose of Pilgrimage so it is not unlikely that they returned with feelings of great reverence and affection for the protector of their Holy Shrines and spread them in the country. It is therefore misreading history to suppose that the introduction of the idea of the Sultan's Khilafat in this country "is a new thing, a creation of the last fifty years, the result of the growth of a political Pan-Islamic movement;" and that "there is no historical basis for the claim that the Khilafat implies any temporal allegiance on the part of Indian Muslims to the Sultan of Turkey."

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND AND KHILAFAT.

Sir Valentine Chirol, the great publicist, has recently displayed a regrettable lack of knowledge of Muslim history in declaring the other day at Madras while addressing the History Union that the claims of Ottoman Sultans were never recognized by the Muslim world.¹ How and why has Sir Valentine fallen into the error we are unable to explain? But let us proceed further.

The importance of the institution of Khilafat has been so great that even non-Muslim rulers at times have tried to make use of the authority of the Khalif to gain their own ends. Napoleon had gone a step further. He recognizing, of course, its importance and usefulness wanted to seize the sceptre of the Khilafat for himself. His mind was bent on dominion in the East, and when he publicly pronounced the Kulema at Cairo, and professed the faith of Islam, "he intended to be its Head," perhaps, arguing that what had been possible three hundred years ago to Salim was possible also then to him. "How vast a scheme was therefore," in the words of Blunt, "overthrown by the battle of Nile." The British Government itself had more than once, made use of the Khalif's authority and prestige. Among the non-Mohammedan Powers in modern times they have been, in spite of the Publicity Bureau, foremost in recognizing the authority.

1 Since this was written Sir Valentine has sent out a press message on the 11th February 1921 that he simply meant to say "that it never has been recognized by the whole of the Mohammedan world."

of the Khalif over Muslim population of India. There is a correspondence between Tipu Sultan and the Governor-General, Lord Mornington which is published as appendix (C) of a book printed by Lue Hansard, Lincoln's Inn fields, for T Cadell and W. Davis, Strand in 1800, and is entitled. "*A Review of the origin Progress and Result of the Decisive war with the late Tipu Sultan.*" From a perusal of this most interesting document it is obvious that the British Government at a critical moment in the history of the expansion of the British Empire in the East did not hesitate to appeal the Sultan of Turkey as the "*acknowledged Head of the Mohammedan Church*" and his territories "*as the repository of the most sacred monument of the Mohammedan faith*" The Governor General Lord Mornington wrote to Tipu, forwarding him the letter of the Khalif; "I now forward it to your Highness. You will read and consider it with the *respectful attention which it demands.*" The English Government wanted that Tipu should have nothing to do with the French and to gain this object they had obtained a letter from the Sultan of Turkey. And "the friendly admonitions" of the Sultan had its effect on Tipu, who wrote back to the Khalif in these terms: "As the French nation are estranged from, and are become the opponent of the Sublime Porte, they may be said to have rendered themselves the enemy of all the followers of the Faith, all Mussalmans should renounce friendship with them." Then in another letter to the Khalif, Tipu Sultan respectfully informs him "English people want to make war on me

and have collected arms and munitions for that purpose I am therefore compelled to declare jihad against them " * Now with what face can an English Government deny today the authority of Turkish Khilafat after having accepted, acknowledged and taken advantage of that authority? How can an English Government say with self-respect "that they cannot acquiesce that the Khilafat implies any temporal allegiance on the part of the Indian Muslims. These are propositions which are contrary to history." * or that "the theory that the Muslim ruler of Turkey is the spiritual head of all Mohammedans wherever they may live, is a creation of late nineteenth century?" * Unless the appeal of the Governor-General, the reply thereto by the Sultan, and Tipu's submission are mere "*Scraps of paper*," the fact of the Sultan's authority cannot be questioned. Art of presenting history cannot be of help in face of documents of admission. If the principle of estoppel has any sense behind it we make bold to assert that so far as the British Government is concerned the matter was once for all finally settled for them by Lord Mornington, as far back as January 16-1799. But this was not all. In the great upheaval of 1857 the British Government again managed to obtain a Firman from Sultan Abdul Majeed calling upon the Mussalmans of India to make their peace with the English as they were the friends of their Khalif. This Firman had a tremendous effect upon the Mussalman population. Since that time the Mussalmans

1 *Karnama-i Hydari* (Calcutta 1848) p. 985.

2 *Gazette of India Extraordinary* May, 1920

3 From the memorandum of the Government of India on misrepresentation on the question of the Khilafat.

of India began to look upon the English as their friends and protector. This faith in the integrity and honesty of the British Government was so much established that they even opposed the National movements in India. If we deeply study the causes of the Muslim attitude and policy till 1911 A. D., we shall find that the close tie of friendship which existed between the English and the Turkish Government played no mean a part in bringing about this well known result. The tradition of the Crimean war and other wars of Turkey with Russia had convinced the Indian Mohammedans that the English were the friends of their Khalif and whenever they found in the English policy any variations from this path they were hurt. Thus in 1897 at the time of the Grecko—Turkish war the attitude of the British Government in favouring unduly and unjustly the Greeks, were severely criticised by them. Also in 1906 at the time of the Akaba dispute the Mussalmans of India in a body protested against what they called the unjust aggressions of Lord Landsdowne upon the Khilafat. And this in spite of the fact that their loyalty to the Government was then at its best. It is true that their voice was not then so powerful and loud. It may have been due to the fact that they still pinned their faith unto the integrity and conscience of England. But alas! England has been convassing hard by her deeds that that belief in the conscience and good faith of England should go. Mussalmans were contented so long as the English Government lived on terms of even outward friendship with the Khalif. No sooner the English Foreign Office openly broke with Turkey than Mohammedans began to be uneasy. Then came the open rupture. And

whether for this state of things we are to thank "the folly of the young Turk leaders," or the forces set into motion by Sir Edward Grey's Eastern Policy, shall be briefly discussed in the following pages.

'Fear and jealousy of Germany were the' guiding principles of Sir Edward's foreign policy and in order to please Russia he sacrificed friendly Mohammedan states one after another. The story of Persia is too sad and too long to be even briefly described here. If we are asked to give the real cause of the great war we shall not hesitate to answer that the foreign policy of our late king Edward and Sir Edward Grey was at the root of the present evil. The Entente with France in 1904 was too obviously directed against Germany and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 was practically throwing down the gauntlet and challenging the Kaiser to take it up. However this discussion is beyond the scope of this paper

Let us at this place briefly examine the policy of England towards Turkey during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Mussalmans of India have been often reminded in these days of the services rendered by the British Government to their Khalif during the Crimean war and so forth. It is far from us to be little those valuable assistances but as it is too often repeated let us examine them.

Before we proceed further the first point which it seems necessary to make clear is what was the Eastern Question? The term "Eastern Question" may in its broadest sense,

be taken to mean who was to rule in the territory then under the Government of the Sultan? In essence it amounted to this, so and so has something which I want: how can I get it, and how can I prevent other peoples from getting more than I do.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century England's policy was dominated by the fear of Russia. It was thought a matter of vital importance for England to maintain unimperilled her communications with India. As long as Russia remained on the northern side of the Danube England's communications were secured; there was the whole of European Turkey and Asia Minor between Russia and the route to India, and she had no basis of operations in that quarter for her fleet.' Here lies the secret of England's support to Turkey during the latter half of the nineteenth century. England was not a disinterested friend and consequently she cannot expect that amount of gratitude from Turkey which she would have claimed if her motives were pure and unselfish. That during the Crimean War there was a certain amount of sympathy for Turkey in Great-Britain is undeniable. But let us see what Lord Palmerston describes as the reason for having entered upon the Crimean War. "The five great Powers have in a formal document, recorded their opinion that it is for the general interest of Europe that the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire should be maintained; and it would be easy to show that strong reasons, political and commercial, make it especially the interest of England that this integrity

and independence should be maintained *We support Turkey for our own sake and for our own interest,* and to withdraw our support, or to cripple it, so as to render it ineffectual, merely because the Turkish Government did not show as much deference to our advice as our advice deserved would be to place our national interest at the mercy of other persons." ' As soon as those "strong reasons, political and commercial" ceased to exist the English support was withdrawn. The Crimean War was not the Sultan's own seeking. The Sublime Porte was forced into the war by the "*Great Elchi*"—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. The Sultan's Government was induced to reject the "*Viena Note*" on the tacit promise of help and support in case of war. It was a quarrel between the Latin Church and the Greek Church that brought about the war and it was of little concern to the Turkish Government. Russia and England both wanted war and they had it. It was practically a war between England and Russia. The Turks drove the Russians from before Silistria and over the Danube before the Allies came up and the object of the war as far as Turkey was concerned was practically gained.

Then again in the war of 1877 A. D. England has shown in the beginning an indifference. But when Turkey was defeated and the power of England's enemy Russia became supreme then the English Government stirred herself and cried halt to Russia. The condition contained in the treaty of San Stefano sent a shudder through Europe, and evoked a storm of indignation from the public press that no cabinet

could for a moment withstand. Why was it so? Because "it was not the proper solution of the Eastern question." The famous Berlin Congress was then called into being. On the promise of ever respecting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and supporting Turkey in the Congress the English Prime Minister had, just a month before, obtained from the Sultan by a secret convention, the island of Cyprus. The idea of Cyprus Convention, certainly in the minds of Disraeli, Salisbury and Layard was to establish informally but none the less effectively an English protectorate over Asiatic Turkey. Disraeli as a young man had in his novel *Tuncred* advanced the idea of a great Asiatic Empire under an English monarchy, and Cyprus was to be especially included in it as recalling the historic fact that the English king Richard had once been also its sovereign. The Congress met at Berlin and it was proposed at the out set that a preliminary declaration should be made by each Ambassador affirming that his Government came to the Congress unfettered by any secret engagement as to the question in dispute. Disraeli and Salisbury "had not the presence of mind" to refuse and like others formally agreed and gave their consent to it. It may, therefore, be imagined how great a surprise and scandal it must have caused at Berlin when on the 9th of July—while the Congress was still sitting—the text of the secret convention was brought to light by an evening London newspaper the "Globe." France and Russia declared themselves to be outraged and the two English plenipotentiaries "stood convicted of nothing less than a direct and recorded lie." Disraeli took to bed on pretext of illness and did

not appear in the Congress for several days. Then Bismarck came to the help of Disraeli and brought about the following compromise. It was agreed between France and England :—

1. That as a compensation to France for England's acquisition of Cyprus, the former should be allowed on the first convenient opportunity and without opposition from England to occupy Tunis.

2. That England should recognize the special interest of France in Syria.

3 That in the financial arrangements of Egypt, France should also have an equal share with England. "To the Cyprus intrigue," says Mr. Blunt, the great defender of the liberties of nations about whom Fredrick Harrison once wrote, "and ultimately the conscience of England would feel a profound debt of gratitude to him and his memory,"—"are directly or indirectly referable half the crimes against Oriental and North African liberty our generation has witnessed " ' Thus by one stroke of pen England handed over to France two of the rich Provinces belonging to her ally the Sultan.

In the Greeco-Turkish war of 1827 A. D. "to the surprise of Czar Nicholas and to the dismay of England," the patriotism of Greece was not powerful enough against the energy of the Turkish forces, who gradually crushed the insurrection, and recovered their authority and rule and when their armies had even taken Athens, and the "Crescent was every where triumphant," the

'allied fleet' headed by England appeared on the scene, and destroyed the Turkish navy at Navarino a great catastrophe for Turkey, which Lord Brougham; declared was a glorious and immortal achievement, and which Lord John Russell characterized as a great victory.

The story of the occupation of Egypt (till recently a province of the Turkish Empire) by England in 1882 "is a tremendous crime, that will remain an indelible blot on the pages of the English history." "England" says, Mr Lewes Appleton, a great authority on foreign affairs, "undoubtedly was the aggressor, for who will deny, that the Government of Egypt acted within its rights, in erecting fortifications to defend Alexandria" Before a single act of violence was done by the Egyptians, English men-of-war anchored in Egyptian waters and delivered an ultimatum to the Egyptian Government. This in itself was an act of war, and therefore England began the war. The "Massacre of Europeans" in Alexandria, was not only subsequent to the arrival of the fleet and delivery of the ultimatum, but it was in consequence of both. When Mr. Gladstone was asked in the House of Commons "as to whom the declaration of war should be addressed, whether to the Sultan, the Khedive or Arabi Pasha? He made the memorable reply. "There is no war. The bombardment of Alexandria is a measure of security, a defensive act on the part of the British Fleet." No declaration of war. And yet forsooth, it is estimated that this "defensive act" led not only to the utter destruction of an ancient city, but to what subsequently followed the invasion

of Egypt, the invasion of Soudan, the slaughter of 40,000 of a brave people "struggling to be free" And yet, "no war" only a "defensive act." The "Christian conscience" of Mr Gladstone was not apparently shocked at this horror, but John Bright, then a member of his Government, declared "England violated both the law of Nations, and obligations of treaties; she broke public faith, and infringed solemn engagements" As to the pledges and assurances given by the British Government for the early evacuation of Egypt the less said the better. Once Gladstone said, "undoubtedly, of all things in the world, the indefinite occupation of Egypt is a thing which we are not going to do. It would be absolutely at variance with all the principles and views of H. M's Government, and the pledges they have given to Europe" Two years later Lord Granville said, "H M's Government are willing that the withdrawal of the troops shall take place at the beginning of the year 1888." Such and many similar pledges can be cited And the "indefinite" occupation of Egypt continued till in the last war an excuse was found to annex it. Surely never were such pledges given only to be afterwards broken, in the whole history of a nation's Imperial dealings Again, during the Greeco-Turkish war of 1897, when the Turkish armies seemed to have swept away every thing before them and would have captured the Greek Capital itself, their triumphant march was stopped by the intervention of the Powers headed by England Thessaly was given back to Greece and a Greek Governor was appointed

1 Few Appleton

2 In the House of Commons August 10 1882

3 Lord Greenwille's Dispatch June 16 1897 No 23 p 13

to administer the island of Crete. Such was the justice meted out to the Turkish conqueror. What can then the Turkish vanquished expect from the European Powers? The English Prime Minister, on that occasion did not declare as did Mr. Asquith during the Balkan war that "victors should not be deprived of the fruits of their victory." Then it was England again, that gave a "free hand" to France in Morocco by the Entente of 1904. Morocco was not, of course, England's to give, but really Great Powers have sometimes, this off-hand and generous way when other peoples property is in question. The same story of free gift was repeated over again in the Tripolitan war. The annexation of Tripoli by Italy had been approved of by England as far back as 1837, probably on account of her occupation of Egypt. Italy made her "most unconscionable" raid upon that African province of the Sultan with the tacit connivance, and, as a well informed writer in the "Fortnightly Review" admits, with the direct complicity of the English Foreign Office. "There is very little doubt," says the writer, "that some sort of understanding was arrived at. England it would seem probable, consented to prevent Turkish troops entering Tripoli through Egypt, and so far as possible to put a stop to all gun-running or other belligerent enterprises. She appears to have undertaken to keep Egypt absolutely neutral and to allow the Porte no assistance" from its vassal (Egypt). Lord Kitchner's despatch to Cairo simultaneously with the outbreak of hostilities cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. Lord Kitchner's

business in Cairo was, therefore, to prevent any passage of Ottoman troops through Egypt or any assistance being given by the Mohammedans on the Nile to the Mussalmans in Tripolitania. Lord Kitchner created a series of Forts along the Eastern desert line of the Suez canal to deal with the possible danger of an Ottoman army demanding passage through the Nile valley on its way to Cyrenacia.¹ And who can deny that if the Turkish troops were allowed a passage through Egypt, Tripolitania would not have become an Italian Province? It is believed that this indirect though effective assistance to Italy was given by Sir Edward Grey on the clear understanding that that country would "play a friendly part towards England in the event of a European conflagration."² Subsequent events go to confirm this belief. Be it also noted that the charges made by the writer of the article quoted above, remains unrefuted, if I am not very much mistaken, up to this day. The utterances of the responsible ministers of H. M's Government and their unbounded and unchecked jubilation over the misfortunes of Turkey in the Balkan war are too fresh in our memories to be repeated here.

The record of England's relation with Turkey, therefore, is not quite so clean as it is generally believed. We have seen in this brief survey of the past records of Great Britain that Turkey had to suffer during nearly the whole of the 19th century, either directly or indirectly through England. Now

¹ "Italy's war for desert" by Francis M'Callagh.

² Ibid

coming to the present time, we find that the humiliating Anglo-Persian Agreement is originated from England and we find that it is England that is holding Egypt. It is England which is occupying Mesopotamia and Palestine. It is England again that wants to bring under its protection the rising Republic of Azerbaijan. It is England that is occupying Constantinople. It is England that bribed Sherif Husain to rebel against Khalif. Is it a wonder, then, if the Mussalmans lay all their misfortunes at her door and hold her responsible for the desecration of the Holy Land of Jazirat-ul-Arab.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREAT WAR.

How Turkey, after the Revolution of 1908 looked up to her old ally and friend England and how had England treated the young Turks are too sad and too fresh to be recorded in this Essay. England not only ignored their overtures of good will but practically refused to grasp the extended hands of friendship. The Young Turk party was compelled by force of circumstances and march of events to extend its hand to Germany, after England had refused it, and the former country grasped it warmly with both hands. The incapacity of the then English Ambassador at Constantinople, the attitude of the English foreign office towards Turkey during the Tripolitan and the Balkan wars and also towards other Islamic states, Persia, and Morocco, the successful diplomacies of Herr Marshal Von Bieberstein, the German Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, the friendly attitude of Kaiser Wilhelm following the policy of his grand-father "Peace and friendship with Islam," and the great and curious influence of Russia with the English Government are some of the factors, along with many others, not to be overlooked while considering the "guilt" of Turkey in joining the war on behalf of Germany.

Such was the state of affairs when the great war broke out. It was the fervent hope of the Indian Muslims that Turkey should have nothing to do with this war. If Turkey would join the war, so they thought, their position would become extremely awkward. They would fall between

two stools. The Indian foreign office got a telegram sent through that esteemed and popular leader Mr. Mohammed Ali to one of the Ministers of the Khalif praying him to remain neutral in that titanic struggle. Mr. Mohammed Ali certainly represented the wishes of his co-religionists when he sent that telegram. But alas! it was not to be. The moral influence in favour of England at the Sublime Porte had gone. Sir Edward Grey had shown himself to be out of sympathy with the Turkish hopes and Turkish aspirations. Turkey remembered English attitude during the Tripolitan and the Balkan wars but too well. Every Turk general or politician knew and resented the help given by the British from Aden to the Arab rebels before the war. Mr. Asquith's declaration biased by his Christian bigotry was fresh in the mind of the Muslim public. Mr. Lloyd George in his famous speech on a "*scrap of paper*" at the beginning of the war when Turkey had not joined referred to the Holy Prophet with contempt and compared Kaiser to him. What could Turks then expect from such ministers who showed supreme contempt for their religion? It was on the advice and guarantee of H M's Government that Kemil Pasha had disbanded a large portion of his troops just a few weeks before the Balkan war. All this was too recent, even the ink had not dried upon the paper on which the Tripolitan and the Balkan war

to join the war but to say that she had absolutely no justification on her side to go over to Germany is simply to display a colossal ignorance of the contemporary events. This apprehension of the Turks could not have been relieved by the British taking over her two big warships, their sole hope against the aggressive designs of the Greek fleet, which, we believe, preponderatingly affected their decision. Was the taking over of their ships an act of no violence? There is one fact yet to be cleared. Did the Allies *including Russia* give any assurance to Turkey that her territorial integrity would be respected? True, the Prime Minister has said that there was no *treaty* between the Allies regarding Turkey before the latter joined the war. But this does not quite clear our point. In support of our contention we cite Mr. Harold Cox, a well-known figure in English politics. He wrote in one of his articles in the *Edinburgh Review* to the effect that Turkey wanted an assurance from the Allies, but the Russian Government refused to give such an undertaking. And it may be remembered that it was Russia that Turkey had to fear most. Further a perusal of the report addressed to the American Secretary of State, on September 1917 by Mr. E. Spencer Pratt, former American Ambassador to Paris regarding the Turkish problem establishes that the responsibility of the participation of Turkey in the war against the Allies, "lies in a greater measure on the Allies themselves than on Turkey." When once Turkey entered the war her "suddenly slamming the gates of the Black sea in the face of an old Ally" cannot be regarded a crime and she cannot be punished on that score.

Much as it may be regretted that the Allies had not free access to the Black sea, but when we come to punish the Turk for refusing that access we have to establish whether he was under any international or treaty obligation not to do so. There is no treaty, as far as we know, that bound him not to do that. The Premier says, "Now Turkey has been beaten," what should, then, the Allied course be? The simple answer to the question is this. The Allies entered the war with a definite and well advertized aim. It finally crystalized into the Fourteen Points of President Wilson. Well, then judge the Turkish case according to that aim. Surely enough Turkey has been beaten, and would have to bear certain consequences of her defeat.

"Might is right" and shall always remain so in spite of the professions of the Modern Civilization to the contrary. And "indeed so long as the mankind," says Gibbon, "shall continue to bestow more applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors the thirst for military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters." But even under this Civilization of "Oil" and "Coal" we can expect to be judged according to a certain standard of morality and good faith. And when good faith has lead people to believe in certain pledges and on the strength of those declarations and pledges they have helped to bring about a given object their case then deserves still more to be judged with consideration and sympathy. There can be little doubt that the Muslims of India pinned their faith on the declarations and pledges of H. M's Ministers and went to fight against their own co-religionists in the hope and expectations that the pledges so

solemnly given would undoubtedly be redeemed. Attempts are now being made to explain them away. Alas! such persons do not seem to realize that the very honour of England is outraged by such quibbles. We are further told that the Peace Conference applied the same terms to Turkey as to Austria. Yet, in the same breath, we hear of mandates for Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine. Whatever else might be said, Austrian treaty does not speak of mandates. In the case of Austria different provinces are "liberated" and given the right of self-determination, while in the case of Turkey her Muslim provinces are "liberated" and placed under Christian mandates. The principle of self-determination even changed its meaning in its passage from Austria and Germany to Turkey. In case of Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Magyars, Czechoslovaks, and Yugo-Slovaks "self" means these nations respectively. But in Turkey it means determination by France in case of Syria, by Italy in case of Adalia, by Greece in case of Smyrna and Thrace, by England in case of Palestine and Mesopotamia, and by the League of Nations in case of Cilicia, Anatolia and Constantinople. It may be remembered that the League of Nations practically means England, France, and Italy. Be it also noted that the meaning of self-determination in Turkey changes not only with the provinces but with religions. Christian Armenia can have independence but Muslim Arab must be satisfied with mandates. The Premier's declaration in the House of Commons on the Irish Bill gives a new meaning to the principle of self-determination. "It does not mean," said the Prime Minister on that occasion, "that every

part of a country which has been acting together for hundreds of years shall have a right to say, we mean to set up a separate Republic. There must be that limitation to the application of any principle." If this be the case, cannot the Turks claim the same privilege? They have been in Turkey for hundred of years. But the Premier on another occasion went a step further. He actually identified self-determination with the oil deposits of Mosul.

The "Jugglery in figures" as regards the population of Greeks and Armenians in Thrace, Symarna and other parts is too ludicrous to be taken seriously by any impartial man. There was a cynic once who said that God has given tongue to man to hide the truth, not to express it.

The Turks are naturally a tolerant people. Their tolerance towards their Christian subjects has become proverbial. "All the persecution which Protestant Missions have suffered in Turkey originated in the Christian priests, Communities, and Churches." "The Armenian language, creed and schools were perfectly free in Turkey." The high-road from Teribizand to Erzeroum is dotted with Christian

1 The official statistics for the year 1912, anterior to the war : long before there could be any reason to manufacture or manipulate figures stand thus :—

The Vilayet of Adrianople :—			
Muslims	..	..	5,60,000
Greeks	..	..	2,24,000
Armenians	..	..	19,000
The Vilayet of Symarna :—			
Muslims	..	..	12,
Greeks	..	..	"
Armenians	..	..	"

2 Rev. Cyrus Hamlin from a lecture at Boston in ..

monasteries. "We conversed," writes Mr. Sidney Whitman, "with innumerable Armenians, priests and bishops of whole districts among the rest, and were assured by them that in such and such a district no outrages, no violence no molestation whatsoever, even though revolutionists were about, had taken place." ¹ "The Catholic Christians must weep and tremble," says Von Philipps, "if they quit the authority of the Turkish Crescent for that of the Russian Eagle."² His Excellency Chedo Myslovitch, former Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James, candidly admits, now that Serbia had achieved her aspirations so far as Turkey was concerned. "Political interests made us (Balkan Nations) paint the Turks as cruel Asiatic tyrants, incapable of European Civilization. An impartial history would prove that the Turks are rather Europeans than Asiatics, and they are not cruel tyrants but a nation loving justice and fairness, and possessing qualities and virtues which deserve to be acknowledged and respected."³ Indeed Turks are essentially gentlemen. Even intellectually, also, they are not to be despised. Haji Khalifa, Kochi Beg, Saadedin and others, were Turks. And "that so far from contemning literature or the arts, there is perhaps no people among whom superior acquirements in general knowledge obtain greater distinction."⁴ The policy of the European Powers towards the Porte has been uniformly selfish. The Turks were never given a chance "nor were they ever honestly beaten in the

¹ "Turkish Memoirs" p. 116

² Münchener historisch politisch Blätter, Von Philipp und Gorres.

³ "Asiatic Quarterly Review"

⁴ Toderini della letteratura dei Turchi i. p. 4

past century." Turkish Government has shown itself far more tolerant of religious opinions than many so-called Christian nations. The welcome extended by Turkey in the fifteenth century to the Spanish and in the nineteenth to the Russian Jews, contrasts most favourably with the Jewish persecution in the Catholic Spain and Orthodox Russia. Such was the hatred which one sect of Christian felt for another, that Bogomiles of Bosnia preferred to be conquered by the Sultan rather than converted by the Pope, the orthodox Greece chose to be the subjects of "infidel" Turks rather than Catholic Venetian. The historic declaration of His Holiness the Pope on the occasion of his giving audience to the Indian Khilafat delegation, regarding the extreme tolerance of the Turks towards their Christian subjects must stop once for all the calumnies of massacres levelled against the Turks — "the gentlemen of Europe."

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

England went to war because Germany did not keep her word regarding the neutrality of Belgium. Does not the same principle apply to the pledged words of England as to the future of Turkey? There is nothing which would damage British power in Asia more than the feeling that one could not trust the British word. It would be a fatal reputation for England. The commanding law is that "men should cling to truth if the very heavens fall." This is an element of true pre-eminence. A nation is often judged by its leaders, by "the utterances of those who are its spokesmen, and in the action of those whom it accepts or chooses to be its chiefs." But alas! human principles play a very secondary part in the conflict of nations; sentimentality and sense of honour are altogether excluded especially in modern times. Material interests take the first place, and the consideration of "Oil" and "Coal" pushes all idealism into the background. True, England is in the present moment, at the height of its material glory. She has become intoxi-

jealousies of other nations against England. Even her own Allies are not pleased at heart. Then in the coming conflict of America and Japan Britain is sure to be involved. Germany is preparing herself for future war with a vengeance. The Bolsheviks have declared England as their arch-enemy and therefore must be brought to account first. The future world-war, it seems, will be fought on the battle fields of Asia. England will perhaps, be involved in it in a deadlier form than she was during the last struggle. With what materials would England go to fight her next war? Will she fight her numerous enemies with discontented India and antagonised Islam? She will need the resources of India and Islam specially their man power. A friendly Turkey, and a grateful India would be a match to any combination of powers against England. The Turks have been humiliated, the Persians are in a state of disorganization, and Egypt, Morocco and Tripoli are dominated by European influence, but Islam is still a living force. It is no longer asleep, and were a wise leader to appear he might play the part of Loyal or Borromeo with success. The present ruler of Afghanistan is reported to have expressed himself in these terms, "I have written to the British Government that no Mus-alman under any circumstances, can tolerate any kind of interference in the matter of the Khilafat or see his Khalifa under any control. If they pay no heed to the friendship of Afghanistan in the matter of Khilafat, they endanger the solidarity of their own Empire. Amanullah is ready to sacrifice his life in the path of Islam." His exalted Highness

the Nizam of Hyderabad had also written to the Secretary of State for India in no uncertain terms about the question of the Khilafat. Can the British Government continue to ignore such weighty pronouncements on the part of the Muslim magnates, her friends and allies? The Mujtahids of Nedjefi-Ashraf and Kerbala-i-Mualla have issued Fetwas that every Muslim should resist the dismemberment of Islam and the passing of the Jazirat-ul-Arab or its portion into the hands of non-Muslims whether under mandate or otherwise.* Even in occupied Mesô-

men," says Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, "It was only by *immense* industry, *immense* sense and *immense* honour that we gained our position in the world, and now that these are gone we find our natural level. For a hundred years we did good in the world; for a hundred we shall have done evil and the world will hear of us no more."

We have seen that the Khilafat is the oldest and by far the most important institution of Islam. It cannot be trifled with. Our rulers should no longer ignore the fact. They have had imposed upon them the task of ruling a vast number of alien dependents and it ought to nerve their action by generous resolution. The emotion of men are stirred more quickly than their intelligence. The aim of statesmanship should be to reckon with the people as they exist and their national peculiarities. The influence of an idea on the oriental mind cannot be fully conceived by Englishmen, who are so much accustomed to rely merely upon their reasons and arguments. The English are as a people little susceptible in the region of imagination. Napoleon himself complained that he found it practically impossible to inspire his European soldiers with enthusiasm through ideas, and more than once expressed a wish that he had gone further East, when he invaded Egypt put a turban on his head and founded a new Empire. Let us hope that the present generation of Englishmen has learnt much more than Napoleon hundred years back about the sentimentality and imagination of the East. Let us hope that material stoicism would not ignore the potent factor of the Eastern

sentimentality. If England take up the idea of making a common cause with Islam and liberating India her future glory is assured. She would live in history through the succeeding ages when her Empire had gone and all her might had disappeared. The fall of German Empire teaches us a supreme lesson which other Empire will neglect at their peril. That lesson is that arms and wealth are after all but feeble bulwarks and that it shall profit a nation nothing if it gain the whole world and lose its own soul.

↗ Let Thrace and Symarna be restored to their rightful owners. Let us talk no more of mandates over Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria. These countries including Hedjaz may be granted Self-Government if they so wish under the effective sovereignty of the Khalif. No financial control should be exercised over the Government of the Sultan. In a word, Turkey should be allowed to have an honest existence. But alas! there are no indications that the British Government will do any such thing. In fact, the British Prime Minister is strongly opposing the modification and revision of the Treaty of Sevres. "The Times" thundered the other day that no pledge whatsoever was given "to Turkey, India or any other country." The Prime Minister's "reference to Thrace, Constantinople and the homelands of the Turkish race" says the Thunderer, "were in fact an intimation to Turkey of the general terms on which she could then have peace, but they ceased to have any validity when they were arrogantly ignored." This is a most scandalous misrepresentation. Let Mr Lloyd-George himself answer it. In his speech in the House of Commons on February 26, 1920 the Premier said "Nor-

I come to the pledge given in January 1918. It was given after full consideration with all parties and Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey acquiesced. There was a real desire to make a national statement of war aims, a statement that would carry all parties, along with it, and they all agreed. It was not a speech in the ordinary sense of the term. It was a carefully prepared statement." The Prime Minister clearly declared in the course of the speech quoted above that it was "not" an offer to Turkey, but a "Solemn Pledge" to the Mussalmans of the Empire. "We gave a solemn pledge and they accepted it," he added, "they are disturbed by the prospect of our not abiding by it. That declaration was specific, unqualified and deliberate. It was made with the consent of all parties in the community. It was drafted by the Cabinet." The Pagan Empire of Rome took those of the Latin cities under the fold of Roman citizenship that remained loyal and fought and expelled Hanibal from Italy. The Christian Empire of Great Britain by "smooth words" and "fair promises" induced its Indian subjects to fight and crush her enemy, but when the success is achieved, their sentiments and entreaties are of no consequence. Their religious feelings in the matter of Khilafat are pook—pooked and this in spite of the fact that the unjust terms imposed on the Turks are admitted by Lord Chelmsford in these words, "and no one not even a Muslim, could have shown more dislike than I to the terms of the Turkish peace treaty." What a contrast indeed to the statement published by the Government of India

1 From the speech delivered at the Calcutta Club on the 23rd of February 1921.

in May last justifying the Turkish Peace Treaty. Such is the consistency of our Government.'

It is futile, it seems to us, to expect any justice or fair treatment at the hands of the European Powers. What might be welcomed as signs of progress is labelled "unrest" and expressions carried from the West to the East lose their significance and connote different meaning. Thus what is patriotism in Europe becomes fanaticism in Asia. Imperialism in Europe has now acquired a holy meaning. It sanctifies crusades against the liberty of weaker nations. Yet we hear of the "civilizing" mission cried from the house top. Civilization is brought to our door with the beat of drum and clangor of arms, "in the shape of trousers and top hats, drink, disease, infant murder and prostitution and here come into play some of those anomalies which make modern civilization, with its mixture of humbug and hypocrisy such an interesting study." (Syed Ameer Ali). We can only hope to achieve justice by our own efforts with a united will and purified hearts.

Let Islam and as a matter of that let Asia realize the fact and the sooner they do it the better for them. Materialistic Europe is now bent upon all that is good in Asia. The makers of the civilization of "Oil" and "Coal" cannot appreciate the spiritual civilization of the East. In fact, they are attacking the very soul of Islam and Asia. "They talk in

¹ We do not wish to blame Lord Chelmsford. It may be admitted, in all fairness that he did "more than any one could do," to quote his own words, "to bring the Muslim views and sentiments of the Community" to the British Government. But Mr Lloyd George turned a deaf ear to all the representations. The Mussalmans simply say that the Indian Government did not represent their cause with that force which their cause deserved.

the West of the "Pan Islamic Danger," the "Black Danger," and the like, but what are those compared with the Oil and Coal peril which threatens Asia? To resist this peril, a peril ever more imminent and insistent, Asia will undoubtedly use all the resources at her disposal, invoking such assistance as she can from all quarters. The religious sentiment will certainly be called into play, as will the conservative spirit, the prejudice against alien habits and ways of life, and all other forces which may avail to check the plunderers. The salvation of Asia—as that leader of men and thinkers, Mahatma Gandhi, seems to realize—largely depends on India. Indeed, it may safely be affirmed that the course of events in this country will determine more than any thing else the destiny of Islam and Asia in the immediate future.

"The Soul will conquer again,
 And the Flesh will recede far away,
 The darkest curtain of night,
 Hides but the germs of the freshest day."

جواب مكتوب خوندی کار روم از شهریار دکن

طیپو سلطان

الحمد لله الذي ربي الاسلام بضبط الرؤساء العظام و شيد
 اساس الدين بتنسيق السلاطين الكرام والصلوة والسلام علي
 رسوله محمد وآله وصحبه وسدي طريقة خير الالام اما بعد
 فلا يخفي علي جناب وارث المروعة السليمانية حاسر رموز
 حكمة اللقمانية مظهر القدرة آلاهييه مورد الكرامة الغير
 المتناهيه مجمع العلوم والحكم معدن معالي الهمم مقدمة
 حلد الفتح والظفر ملتعب كتاب القضاء والقدر سلطان البر
 والبحر خليفة الله في الارضين سلطان الروم حلد الله ملكه وخلافه
 ان كتابكم العالي متضمنا علي ذمايم القوم الفرنجويان ر
 معاداتهم لاهل الاسلام وارادة استيصالهم جميع الملل والنحل
 من العالم وحمايد القوم الانكتر اويان وعزيمة حنايكم العالي
 علي المتكفل باتصفيه فيما يملأ ويبلغ واسر حنايكم المتعاضد
 لنا بعبان سب المعالدة الواقعة بملنا ويبلغ وصل الينا في
 احسن الاوقات وعلمنا كل سطوياته ايس سحليا علي حنايكم
 ان همتنا الجهاد في سبيل الله وتكفلهم اسود بن الله والحق
 ما قلتم ان القوم الفرنجويان قوم ليس ايم ولاء ونحن نعلم
 ذمايهم ولكن في هذه الاوقات قد قدم القوم الانكتر اويان علي
 حرمنا رهبا واسباب الحرب والنزول فلهذا وجب علينا الجهاد

بل علي جميع اهل الاسلام قاله رحومس جنابكم ان يدعوا لنا في
خاصته الاوقات ويعاونوا بدعائكم واهتمامكم وهو المستول منكم
والله يكفينا لنا ولكم وكنا ارسلنا المکتوب قبل هزال من
بصعابة سيد علي محمد و مدار الدين وفصلنا فيه امور نابا
حسن التفصيل وايضاً ارسلنا المکتوب الثانى بوسطه يوسف
وزبر من طريق المدينة المنورة سيظهر علي جنابكم تمام الامر
كوزات مشروحا وبسوطا وصلى الله علي النبي محمد وآله
واصحابه الابرار: (١)

1 Karnama-i-Hydary (Calcutta 1848) p 955.

- (1) *Maulana Mohammad Ali,*
B. A. (Oxon) Aligarh.

I heartily congratulate Dr. Syed Mahmud on this work. Much appears daily in the papers regarding this subject, but there was the need for a separate and distinct work which a truth-seeker could always turn to. Our friend Syed Saheb made up this deficiency admirably well. The fact of the recognition of the Ottoman Khilafat by Humayun which is mentioned in this book I was not aware of. There had ever been some sort of connection maintained between the Khilafat and India, but the fact that the Ottoman Khilafat was recognised by the Moghul Emperors had not been established. But now even this want has been supplied. I am sure this work will be highly appreciated.

(2) *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Calcutta*—Amongst the literature regarding the Khilafat which has been compiled and published, there has been one visible want of an English publication. I believe that the timely treatise publication by my dear friend Dr. Mahmud will make up this deficiency admirably well. He has masterfully reviewed the past history of the Khilafat and has clearly explained the connection past and present between the Ottoman Khilafat and the British Government. I hope his service will not go unappreciated.

- (3) *Maulana Shaukat Ali,*
B. A. (Alig.) Bombay.

The book is immensely valuable. I hope this will soon be translated into Hindi and Urdu so that it be read broadcast by our Hindu and Muslim bretheren. It is a rare production.

- (4) *Maulana Rashid Ahmad, Professor,*
National Muslim University,
Aligarh.

I am sure that this is the best book I have ever seen on the subject. I congratulate Dr. Syed Mahmud on his learned work.

(5) *Khawaja Hasan Nizami Saheb,*
Delhi.

This is an excellent work. The subtleness of arrangement, historical sequence and certain special aspects are things which will meet with due need of praise anywhere. But this book is written not with the object of winning applause, but with a view to influence the opinion of Englishmen and their co-thinkers and to remove those misunderstandings regarding the Khilafat. I trust that after perusing this book Government officials will know the real historical truth about Khilafat.

(6) *Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew,*
B. A (Cantab.), Ph. D. (Munster),
Bar-at Law Amritsur.

This is a precious production. Every Muslim, rather every Indian should read this book. It contains some such historical truths of which people generally are unaware.

(7) *Abdul Majeed Khwaja,*
B. A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law,
Principal National Muslim University,
Aligarh.

This is a remarkably good book I ask you to send me 250 copies for the students of the National Muslim University. I will consider it unjust if I do not allow each and every student of my college who are being trained for propaganda to read this book. I wish to have this book in my University course.

(8) *Tassaduque Ahmad Khan Sherwani,*
B. A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law,
Secretary National Muslim University,
Aligarh.

This book is a learned exposition on the Khilafat question. I congratulate Dr. Syed Mahmud on